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Secret Agency Is Silent, Too

CIA Never Answers Its Wide-Ranging Critics

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By Sid Moody

(Associated Press Staff Writer)

THE shadowy business of the Central Intelligence Agency, by its nature, demands secrecy. But in a finger-pointing, probe-conscious democracy there is constant pressure to lift the lid and have a look.

Scarcely a day—or a coup—goes by that someone, somewhere does not accuse the CIA of murder or kidnaping, of bombing or blackmail, of bribery or undermining Sukarno, or propping up Gen. Wessin Wessin or threatening a Communist curtain, or sneaking spies into Cuba or sneaking them out, or masterminding this in Tanzania or bungling that in Singapore—all the while strewing American dollars hither and yon.

Leaves Only Confusion

Since it is inherent in an intelligence apparatus not to confirm or deny anything, the claims, rumors and charges leave the public confused as to whether the agency is exceedingly good—or bad.

The fact that it cannot answer for itself makes the CIA fair game for the wildest of charges and only occasionally does this iceberg of espionage surface: Such as the Berlin tunnel that tapped the wires of Soviet military headquarters, or the overthrow of leftist regimes in Guatemala or Iran, the U2 flights over Russia and the Bay of Pigs invasion.

What the CIA does concerns not only the Kremlin. It also concerns critics in the United States. To them the CIA has gone too far into areas of foreign policy, has gone too far into the woodwork to be properly monitored by the government it serves, has dealt low blows to our we-fight-fair-why-don't-the-others image.

Many Allegations

Has it? The CIA has many spies, few spokesmen. It doesn't talk. But a typical sampling of allegations which have been published in books and newspapers and which are part of the accepted picture of the CIA in many parts of the world provides such as the following:

CIA Should Be Kept Under Surveillance, Too, Some Lawmakers Believe

IF the Central Intelligence Agency provides all the answers to questions posed by subcommittees of Congress, does it point out as well the proper questions?

"We try to inform the committees of anything with widespread repercussions," said a CIA officer. "I wouldn't be categorical and say they are told everything, but they are given as much as we can."

"Congress does not set up courses of action for the CIA," said a past member of a CIA subcommittee. "We may get a full day's briefing on Brazil, but we aren't told what is going on, say in Lithuania."

Few if any congressmen dispute the CIA's need for secrecy. Some feel—and strongly—that the agency should, however, be subject to more frequent and stringent congressional scrutiny, preferable a joint watchdog committee which would include representation from the committees on foreign affairs, which are not now included.

"All these (espionage) actions may be necessary in the national interest," said Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Pa.). "I do not say they are not. What I do say is that . . . at least some members of Congress should have knowledge in advance and should be kept currently informed as to what the department of dirty tricks has up its sleeve. The surveillance and supervision by Congress has heretofore been more in the nature of the polite inquiries of a visiting committee of alumni looking into the English department of the university from which they graduated than pretty tough supervision."

● Allegation 1—Two Syrians testified an American embassy official offered them 2 million dollars if they could deliver a Soviet naval patrol boat and its rockets to Cyprus. He was asked to leave the country. They were hanged.

● Allegation 2—The CIA has rigged elections in Laos. And an American newsman said he saw Communist and CIA agents literally bumping into each other while visiting Congolese parliamentarians to buy votes during a crucial vote of confidence.

● Allegation 3—The CIA popped General Mobutu out of obscurity and periodically propped up his morale, bankroll and ragtag Congolese army. The agency was active in support of the white merce-

nary army in the Congo and the paratroop attack that liberated Stanleyville.

● Allegation 4—CIA agents adulterated a shipment of sugar aboard a Russian freighter docked in Puerto Rico. The aim was to sour the Soviet sweet tooth on Cuban sugar. President Kennedy became angered when he learned of it, and the sugar thereupon was destroyed by a mysterious fire.

● Allegation 5—A CIA agent tailed a courier going from Cairo to the Congo with \$100,000 in a briefcase for the Congolese rebels. While in Khartoum the courier briefly put the briefcase down in the gentlemen's lounge. The agent promptly walked off with it.

● Allegation 6—The CIA tried to suppress the book, "The Invisible Government,"

written by two newsmen, David Wise and Thomas Ross, about its activities and threatened to buy up all the first edition. The former CIA director, Allen Dulles, labeled the book scuttlebutt. Privately some CIA people gave it passing grades for accuracy.

Former Unit Disbanded

The activities of the CIA, in fact or myth, mark the great distance U. S. intelligence has come from simpler pre-cold war days.

As recently as 1929, Henry Stimson, then secretary of state, disbanded the department's "black chamber" code-breaking operation saying "Gentlemen do not read each other's mail." Less than two decades before the U2 and the



A retired vice-admiral, William F. Raborn, is the present head of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Samos spy satellites, the government was asked to try to send in any postcards it might have of Pacific scenes to aid the war against Japan.

Just how much the U. S. may be spending on intelligence a year is anybody's guess. Ross and Wise estimate it at 4 billion dollars. There are few estimates that go below 2 billion.

Must Match Others

Who needs it? The United States, says Secretary Dean Rusk, who adds that a "back alley war" is going on all over the world. To spurn its sordid, ruthless stealth runs the risk of falling victim to it.

"If we don't subvert, we're giving our enemies who operate solely by subversion an undue advantage," says Rep. Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wis.), one of the CIA's closer observers. Furthermore, in an era of cold war knowledge of what the enemy will—or can—do is vital: if you can learn it.

"Our government, until we have a world of stability, is going to have to have intelligence," says a high ranked CIA veteran. "And it is going to have to be on a world wide basis. There is no place we don't need information—Russia, Egypt, Israel. What would we do if they get nuclear weapons? Can they?"

"Intelligence," said another CIA official, "is our first line of defense."

"We cannot safely limit our response to the Communist strategy of take-over solely to those cases where we are invited in by a government," wrote a former CIA boss, Allen Dulles. "We ourselves must determine where and how to act."

Occupy New Building

This brings a whole new dimension to U. S. foreign relations.

The command of this line of defense hides behind unmarked, pastel-hued doors in a woods-encircled, king-sized new building in Langley, Va., outside Washington. It is, anonymous save for the carved inscription "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make ye free." No signs lead to CIA headquarters although its emblem, an eagle surrounded with the words "Central Intelligence Agency," is massively inlaid on the terrazzo floor inside the front entrance.

Basically work at the CIA is divided in two. There is "plans" which handles the agents who do the cloak and the dagger work. Espionage provides less than 20 per cent of the CIA's intelligence.

"The 'intelligence' end comes from technical journals, field reports and foreign publications to monitoring radio broadcasts in more than 60 languages to the tune of 6 million words a day.

A Daily Digest

From all this the agency prepares both periodic "national estimates," predicting future events around the world, and daily digests of intelligence reports which are seen by the President and secretaries of state and defense (and the workaday printers who set them in type).

The CIA's concern is catholic: How did Mao look at the last peasant's parade, what is the latest in Soviet biological research, how many trains run through Minsk each day. ("It's fine to know about trains," said an ex-agent. "It's better to have a plant in the politburo.")

The CIA man in the field may be rather openly attached to an embassy where he usually is the object of gossip, informed or otherwise. He may be underground or he may be a paid informer in the nation involved. (Such "plants" start at about \$100 a month, in part to keep them from acquiring more yachts, mistresses and gambling debts than their normal salary would allow.)

From the Colleges

The CIA recruits its agents from college campuses, tries to make career men and women of them and has had a high proportion of ivy leaguers. It wants the most normal, strongly motivated people available. Only one applicant in 10 is hired.

"We want them to react as predictably as possible," said a onetime CIA official. "We can't be psychoanalyzing them from Washington all the time."

Some feel career emphasis may turn out stereotyped spies and miss the earlier CIA days when personnel were of more varied background and experience.

Once in the field, the agent may observe, spy or decide to act. If things in a given country look bad, he might say "Let's support Gustavus Adolphus, he's a middle-of-the-road guy." The agency then begins to plant propaganda, spend money, recruit support. But, the CIA reportedly points out, none of this can occur without approval of a policy agency in Washington outside the CIA.

This could be the U. S. Intelligence board composed of representatives of the various U. S. intelligence arms—CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency,

made up of the separate armed services intelligence branches, the FBI, the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Security Council. Or it could come from the "special group," an ever-so-secret committee of the CIA director, the secretaries of defense and state and their deputies and a high presidential adviser, recently McGeorge Bundy.

The USIB oversees operations and co-ordinates the various reports for the President. Dissents by minority view holders are permitted. Very hush-hush decisions are made by the special group. It reportedly knew but the USIB did not, for instance, about the Bay of Pigs.

Who Has Control?

The CIA was formed in 1947 to bring the intelligence arms under one control. Has this been done and is there, indeed, control?

Some critics claim the CIA has been given authority over men and money far beyond any other U. S. agency. It has all but a blank check from the U. S. Congress. Its funds are hidden throughout the federal budget, presumably in the huge defense appropriations.

"It acts as a law unto itself," said Sen. Stephen Young (D-O.).

About 20 well established congressmen of the Senate and House appropriations and armed services committees are privy to CIA acts and spending.

"I ALWAYS WANTED TO SPEND A WINTER IN MIAMI."



These subcommittees meet at least once a month, actually much less.

While these congressmen (and one woman, Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.)) decline to discuss the CIA, they echo Rep. Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.) of the House armed services committee in saying: "I can tell you we get everything we ask for and more."

Could Be Better

"The CIA is not as good as it should be," one who should know said recently. "But it is constantly improving. I don't think any responsible intelligence officer is going to say it is as good as it should be until we know what our adversaries are going to do and the likelihood of any confrontation anywhere in the world. Russia may get more intelligence with the help of its Communist parties around the world, but I submit they have more trouble analyzing it. I think we are the best in the world in providing intelligence to our policy makers."

To him the CIA will be battling 1,000 per cent when it has infiltrated every foreign, security and defense ministry of every government in the world.

"Do I really expect we can find, in the harshest terms, some one who is treasonable in all these countries? I may be a cynic, but I think the chances

are good. Money helps. But so does reaching an identity in motivation. The contact may want a free and independent Lower Slobovia. So do we. So we get together."

Can Head Off War

But perhaps the final judgment of the CIA does not lie in adding up the black eyes and balancing them against the merit badges. Consider, rather, this: If lack of intelligence is a road to war, has the United States' intensified use of it led away from war?

"I shudder to think what sort of nuclear blackmail we would have been subjected to if we didn't have the U2s over Russia and Cuba," said the official. "If we hadn't had the CIA, I wonder if we would have even survived. And if we maintain our intelligence, it is just possible we can get through the rest of the century with just small wars."

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